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ABSTRACT

The research literature on city magazines can be divided into five primary sources: books on magazines, popular magazines/journals and newspapers, business magazines, scholarly journals, and unpublished theses. "The New Yorker," founded in 1925 specifically for a sophisticated, metropolitan audience, is considered a precursor of the current glossy genre, even though it quickly became a national publication. City magazines were also sometimes underwritten by local chambers of commerce or were spinoffs from newspaper Sunday supplements. Scholarly studies have pinpointed the metropolitan magazine's target audience: "upscale, well-educated and well-heeled"--as well as its problem areas: establishing a strong local identity, finding good material, and building circulation. These messages are also echoed in much of the popular literature examined. Other studies have dealt with the relationship of magazines to urban society, and whether city magazines serve as alternatives to newspapers in commenting on public issues or if they are content to provide public services, such as furnishing lists of where to eat, live, and find entertainment. Dissertations on city magazines, although valuable in providing a feel for the diversity of the modern city magazine field reflect the uneven character of the genre. Promising areas for future research include (1) possible competition for city magazines in weekly magazines produced by urban newspapers; (2) the relationship between the editorial, advertising, and circulation departments of city magazines; and (3) implications of the genre's claim to advertising dollars--the upscale white audience, and, as a corollary, whether city magazines make an effort to present the "whole" community. (Extensive references and sources, a list of personal conversations and correspondence sources, and 57 footnotes are appended.) (NKA)

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The Literature of City Magazines

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THE LITERATURE OF CITY MAGAZINES

Initially, this study was to be an extensive review of the available literature on the city and regional magazine phenomena, a major growth area in the magazine industry over the past two decades. The intention was to shake down the traditional sources of information -- periodical indexes and guides, the standard books on magazines, research and popular journals, abstracts of theses and dissertations, bibliographies, etc. -- along with some nontraditional sources such as various magazine associations, personal contacts and as many representatives of the actual magazines as would respond to written requests. (A heavy work and travel schedule precluded much telephone contact.)

A short while into the project, it was decided to concentrate solely on city magazines. Early findings, while not conclusive, indicated that material on both city and regional magazines would eventually prove too unwieldy and, possibly, confusing. Several theses in the field stated that research in one area or the other was ample, while the other area lacked sufficient work; interestingly, the neglected field inevitably seemed to be the one covered by the particular thesis.

The initial stages of the project did yield some interesting patterns in the literature of city magazines. Generally, the standard book studies on magazines gave short thrift to this relatively new development in journalism, perhaps understandably, since most texts on magazine journalism were written before the rapid growth of the modern "local" industry. Most of the books studied here dealt extensively with the history of magazines in the

United States, especially concentrating on the mass appeal giants of the 20th century (Life, Look, Saturday Evening Post, etc.) and the problems that befell those behemoths with the advent of television.

Most authorities agree, however, that those very problems plaguing the general consumer publications with their huge circulations led to the proliferation of specialty magazines, of which city magazines are considered a part. As television claimed the "mass" audiences heretofore held by the mass magazines, astute publishers around the country started producing magazines aimed at specific audiences with specific needs and wants and, usually, with discretionary income to spend. Sports, hobbies, professions, avocations, regional and civic pride -- all proved lucrative and fresh to a magazine industry long ruled by the likes of Look and Life; one could say the magazine industry simply responded to the increasing segmentation and prosperity of American society which started in the 1950s and intensified in the 1960s and 1970s, decades which, coincidentally, saw the rash of so-called "new wave" city magazines arrive on the scene, some brash and sassy and full of uneven journalism.

A fascination with those uneven products led to this project, which is also an initial testing of potential thesis waters. Review the literature, find what has been researched, determine areas that need to be studied -- these preliminary steps were considered in each step of this project, which should form a solid foundation on which to base a formal thesis.

The literature of city magazines surveyed for this study could be divided into five primary categories: books on magazines,

general interest magazines/journals and newspapers, business magazines, scholarly journals and unpublished theses. Quantitatively, business-related themes dominated the journal and general magazine material; such business-oriented publications as Advertising Age, Media Decisions and Marketing and Media Decisions contained 47 articles pertaining to city magazines. Those publications are primarily aimed at business personnel who make such decisions as where to place advertising and how much to place. Another 20 articles on city magazines appeared in Folio:, which bills itself as "The Magazine for Magazine Managers." The most scholarly articles (11) appeared in Journalism Quarterly.

'LOCAL' HISTORY

Frank Luther Mott, author of what is generally considered the definitive history of American magazines, tells us that the phenomena of local magazines isn't as new as some might think. In Volume II of A History of American Magazines, he tells us that "Most of the American periodicals of 1850-65 were local or sectional in appeal and circulation," and that "the great bulk of class publications were sectional or local in intention."[1] He further strengthens his statement in Volume IV with a full chapter on "Local and Regional Magazines."[2] He writes, "local magazines for local audiences had been published since the beginning of periodicals in America, and in the (1890s) they were issued in greater number than ever before."[3]

These early local publications would hardly be recognized in today's world of glossy, slick magazines, however; Mott says many of these "local and regional" magazines were urban weeklies, "uneven in merit but often interesting and significant."[4] These early

ancestors were "journals of society, amusement, politics, and literary miscellany,"[5] a fairly accurate description of modern city magazines. Mott devotes much of the rest of the chapter to describing several of these early local and regional publications, such as New England Magazine, Bostonian: An Illustrated Magazine of Local Interest, Brown Book of Boston, Town Topics (New York City), The New-Yorker, Washington Hatchet, Washington Mirror, Washington Life, Baltimorean, Baltimore Life, Omahan, Omaha Illustrated, St. Louis Life, Milwaukee Magazine, Sunset, Wasp, Pacific Monthly and Paradise of the Pacific.

Most students of city magazine history turn to Ben L. Moon, whose 1969 master's thesis at the University of Florida included a lengthly section on that subject. That section was reworked and presented in Journalism Quarterly;[6] most writers use this article for historical background in this field. According to Moon, Town Topics is the first American publication appearing in magazine format to concentrate its efforts on a particular city. Town Topics was founded by Colonel William Mann before 1900.[7] The magazine lasted until 1932.

Another, more familiar precursor cited by Moon and others is the New Yorker, founded in 1925 by Harold Ross specifically for a sophisticated, metropolitan audience. David Shaw says the city magazine genre "dates at least from the founding of the New Yorker in 1925";[8] William Taft says the New Yorker "in numerous ways established the format and objectives for today's city magazines."[9] However, Ross' publication quickly outgrew its local beginnings: New Yorker now claims more than 75 percent of its circulation outside the New York area[10] and is more a national institution

than a city magazine.

However, in its initial years, New Yorker spawned a generation of imitators, none of which came close to matching Ross' creation. Many publishers tried to emulate New Yorker, with titles such as Senator, Washingtonian, The Chicagoan, The Philadelphian, New Orleanian, The Bostonian and The San Franciscan.[11] Most failed to last through the Depression, possibly because "they tried too hard to transplant the New Yorker to their own localities instead of developing as indigenous products."[12]

It was during this period -- the turbulent twenties and thirties -- that Chambers of Commerce entered the publishing business in a big way. Philadelphia Magazine, one of the most respected of modern city magazines, actually started as a Chamber newsletter shortly after 1900.[13] These early Chamber organs emphasized "puffery and support of local activities,"[14] pretty much as today's Chamber magazines do.

Despite the failures and the lack of "hard" journalism in the Chamber publications, hopeful publishers kept trying to capture the essence and success of the early New Yorker. One such publisher, Maurice English, perhaps wrote the modern creed of city publications in an editorial in the first issue of Chicago in March, 1954 (this particular version of Chicago ceased publication in 1956):

> No magazine has yet used the full resources of contemporary journalism -- spot reporting, feature articles, fiction, the camera, the artist's pen and brush -- to bring into focus one great city. Not an isolated section of it, not this class or that group, but all of its people, in their night-and-daily doings....[15]

The "modern" city magazines trace their roots to Edwin Self's San Diego, founded in 1948 as an independent magazine with the idea of "combining the best of many national magazines, localized for one area or another."[16] It would be another 10 years before L.A. would make its brief appearance on the stage;[17] 12 years until the more successful Los Angeles would take up where L.A. left off; and 14 years before Herb Lipson would buy Philadelphia and start building a reputation for hard-nosed, take-no-prisoners investigative journalism.[18]

The appearance of New York, a spinoff from a Sunday supplement in the defunct New York Herald Tribune, is credited by many with starting another stampede toward city publications similar to that experienced in the 1920s when the New Yorker first appeared.[19] As happened with the New Yorker, however, New York quickly became more of a national publication, although its early style and editorial philosophy as expressed by editor Clay Felker obviously influenced many of the up-and-coming young editors and publishers. This time the lesson stuck: emulate the style, but keep it local. And this time it worked. Cities of all sizes and in all parts of the country found themselves the subjects of a new -- and often rambunctious -- form of media.

Alan Fletcher reported in 1977 that city magazines had been proliferating for 15 years;[20] Fletcher and Bruce VandenBergh found five years later that "the metropolitan magazine boom has continued.[21] Taft confirms their findings, saying "city magazines appeared to be in the driver's seat as the 80s got underway."[22]

Thus the literature dealing with city magazine history shows an interesting past, a strong and growing present and an equally strong --

if still unpredictable -- future. We can now turn to other literature, determine its scope and content and find areas that need further attention in this relatively new area of journalism.

SCHOLARLY STUDIES

This search turned up surprisingly little scholarly work on city magazines. Careful study of Journalism Abstracts at the Memphis State University library produced 15 theses in the field (counting Texas Monthly as a marginal city magazine, since that magazine's avowed purpose is to cover the four major metropolitan areas of Texas). All but two of those 15 theses were obtained through the Inter-library Loan office; those two were unavailable for loan during the summer of 1986.[23]

Of the 13 theses actually studied, six were studies of individual city magazines; three were studies of general, sometimes vague, subject matter; two studied the relationships between city magazines and newspaper Sunday supplements; one analyzed national advertising in three city magazines; and another was a descriptive analysis of news media criticism in city magazines.

Since Moon's 1970 study on city magazines in Journalism Quarterly, there have been five studies in that publication specifically related to city magazines. Three other studies mentioned city magazines, but the research was not specifically aimed at city magazines.

Fletcher's 1977 study on niche journalism was designed to analyze the city magazine business as seen by the editors and publishers. He specifically wondered why city magazines were doing so well when the magazine industry overall had been on a down cycle. He found that city magazine publishers felt their success

could be traced to a "void left by national and other local media."[24] His survey of city magazine editors and publishers also found a strong belief by the respondents in their audiences: "upscale, well-educated and well-heeled" consumers who were "comfortable but not content."[25] The surveyed industry spokesmen admitted to problems, however, chief among them (1) establishing a strong local identity; (2) building circulation; (3) finding good editorial material; (4) costs of all types; and (5) finding advertiser support, national advertisers, in particular.[26]

Despite the problems, Fletcher felt city magazines had a strong future, that the genre had "become a significant medium of communications" filling "an important, albeit narrow, niche in the marketplace in large- and medium-sized metropolitan areas."[27]

Fletcher's 1982 study with VanderBergh again surveyed editors and publishers, this time to measure their perceptions of where their publications fit in the current media marketplace. In his preliminary research, Fletcher found that circulations of the magazines he had studied earlier had increased 32.8 percent; further, the survey revealed that more than half of the 61 responding magazines were founded between 1975-1979.[28]

The unsurprising findings of this survey revealed that editors and publishers felt their "localness" and "sense of community" were chiefly responsible for their success. One respondent, Paul Lison of Monthly Detroit, cited "current trends in suburban living and changing life styles of the affluent 33-55 year old adults" as reasons for the genre's growth spurt.[29] Others cited the now familiar refrain of upscale, affluent audiences. The problems reported by respondents repeated those of the earlier study.

Gene Burd's 1973 study on the relationship of magazines to urban society was an attempt to relate cities and urbanization to magazines. Burd surveyed literature on magazines in general, composed a synthesis of references to urbanism and examined magazine coverage of urban problems in the 1960s, a period of intense activity in the city magazine field.

Burd found parallels between the era of urban crusades around the turn of the century, during which special urban magazines played a role, and the urban decentralization of the 1960s, which, in turn, helped create a healthy climate for the rebirth of city-type magazines.[30] Burd further interpreted his data as indicating a "dying out" of urban magazine journalism by the early 1970s; replacing it was "an escapist, romantic, rural-oriented, anti-urban, outdoors movement toward ecology and the natural environment."[31] Of course, subsequent events proved this prediction wrong, since much of the phenomenal growth in the number of city magazines took place in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Ernest C. Hynds studied in 1979 the question of whether city magazines tried to serve, or even wanted to serve, as alternatives to newspapers in commenting on public issues or if the magazines were content to provide other types of public service such as providing lists of where to eat, live and find entertainment. His survey showed that about two-thirds of the respondents felt one reason the city magazine genre had grown so explosively was the trend toward one-newspaper cities and the subsequent (usually) lack of hard-hitting, local investigative journalism.[32] However, the same number of respondents also felt that "city magazines avoid controversial issues that might upset members of the local power structure."[33] That

figure is especially revealing, since the survey sample breakdown was 22 percent Chamber of Commerce-sponsored magazines and 78 percent independently owned magazines; response fell close to those numbers.

Hynds' final conclusions indicated while some city magazines actively practice aggressive, investigative journalism, most tend to take the easy route of providing life style information and profiling the good, better, best life for their affluent readers.[34]

The final article dealing with city magazines was a 1981 survey by John P. Hayes to examine the growth of city/regional magazines and the means they used to obtain editorial content. The survey's results indicated responding editors felt their magazines' popularity could be attributed to four primary areas: (1) local pride; (2) daily newspapers' failure to excite local readers; (3) the by now highly touted "upscale" audience of educated, upwardly mobile, credit-card toting (and using) adults; and (4) ever-increasing leisure time and spending money.[35]

Hayes also found that most city/regional magazines heavily depend on freelance contributions to supply the editorial matter for their publications. One interesting piece of information: almost one-fourth of the editors reported buying fiction for their magazines. Hayes interprets this development as one way in which city/regional magazine editors adopt innovative techniques to satisfy their demanding audiences.[36]

Madeline Muecke's 1967 study on regional magazine ownership forms, while not specifically dealing with city magazines, was an early study that deserves mention. Although Muecke uses the term "regional", her final sample included "area-of-a-city, city,

metropolitan, area-of-a-state, state and inter-state magazines." Her basic findings indicated four basic ownership forms: (1) corporate; (2) individual; (3) association, including Chambers of Commerce; and (4) government.[37]

Two other Journalism Quarterly studies touch on city magazines peripherally. Anthony McGann and others studied advertising pricing for regional and metro magazines, but their attention centered on metro editions of national magazines.[38] Sam Riley's 1982 study on specialized magazines in the South was also more concerned with regional magazines.[39]

THESIS WORK

The 13 theses studied in this project reflected the uneven character of the city magazine genre. In a sense, they all were valuable in providing a feel for the diversity of the modern city magazine field. An interesting comment on publishing volatility might be gleaned from three of the individual magazine studies -- they all concern failures (Seattle, L.A. and The Pittsburgher Magazine). Of the other three studies concerning individual magazines, one is a paean to Texas Monthly; one is a more detailed content analysis of New York magazine to determine the extent, nature and focus of the magazine's social comment and criticism; and the other is an analysis of one magazine's (Third Coast) subscribers.

Two of the failure studies -- Ruby Apsler's look at Seattle and Mary Anne McAwley's analysis of The Pittsburgher Magazine -- arrived at basically the same conclusion: the two magazines, one of which (Seattle) was highly esteemed nationwide for its investigative zeal, ultimately failed to understand the local audience and thus did not capture the essence of the modern city magazine success story. In

Pittsburgh, which already had a successful (albeit noncontroversial) city magazine, the combination of constant turnover on the editorial staff and a publisher inexperienced in magazine publishing were obstacles too difficult to overcome. Those factors contributed to the staff's "failing to single out a target audience and sticking to it with every ad, every story, every bit of information published in the magazine."[40]

Apsler reached the same conclusion a continent away: "Seattle failed...because the writers did not love the city and did not understand local relationships."[41] Also contributing to the failure was a staff exported from the East, outsiders to the Seattle environment to such an extent that, in a local magazine for local people, "little in the magazine was specifically local."[42]

Lincoln Haynes' study on L.A. attempted to determine whether the precursor of today's Los Angeles Magazine was a success or failure and to determine any lessons which might be learned from that experience. Haynes found that, after a two-year run, L.A. managed "to bridge the gap between traditional, establishment publications and the modern city magazines."[43] Haynes' conclusions may be slightly colored by his personal involvement in the founding and editing of the magazine.

The general interest studies -- Frank Montoro's "Regional Magazines in the United States: An Editorial Perspective"; Anita McGraw's "The Role of City and Regional Magazines and Their Publishers in Society Today"; and Jeanne Montague's "A Study of Reader Attitudes Toward City Magazines" -- provided useful background information and some detail to this study of city magazine literature. Of these three, Montague's, although the oldest (1969),

was the more specific and provided the most useful, original information. Montague utilized Q-methodology to study reader attitudes toward four city magazines which were flourishing during that period (Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia and The Washingtonian). Her primary objective was to determine the extent to which readers accepted the image of local interpreter of urban concerns fostered by city magazines.

Montague's data indicated three distinct types of readers for those four city magazines in 1969: (1) Type I, most clearly supportive of "booster" type journalism or the Chamber of Commerce magazines; (2) Type II readers, who essentially show indifference to city magazines in general, whether Chamber of Commerce publications or independent magazines; and (3) Type III readers, who are the most enthusiastic supporters of critical, "crusading" journalism. Other data showed that all types thought the quality of writing was generally higher in city magazines and that city magazine articles were "thoroughly researched, honest, interesting, unbiased and sincere."[44]

Montague draws an interesting conclusion from her data: readers of that era really did not consider city magazines and local newspapers as competitors in local news. Each was perceived as having "a distinctly separate role, i.e., the newspapers to report daily capsules of information, the city magazines to present depth analysis of issues."[45]

Two theses -- Patricia Costen's "The Effects of City Magazines on Existing Sunday Newspaper Supplement Magazines in the Same Cities" and Patricia Kurtz' "A Study of the Relationship Between Metropolitan Magazines and Locally Edited Sunday Newspaper Supplements" -- are

examples of the type of research needed in the city magazine area. Costen's research, performed in 1978, was the first in-depth examination of the concept of a city magazine and a Sunday Supplement magazine as competitors. Her data indicated that, indeed, the presence of a city magazine caused an increase in "local" coverage in selected Sunday newspaper supplements.[46] Her findings led her to the conclusion that "both supplements and city magazines are local publications, and they appear to be vying for the same audience." Thus, she says, her study could also be considered "a project in the 'localness' of urban publications of today."[47]

Kurtz took Costen's study even further; she aimed to "establish more fully the relationships between locally edited Sunday supplements and metropolitan magazines"[48] by looking at content to determine how similar or dissimilar the two types of publications are in serving their readers' needs. She concluded that the publications are serving similar communication functions but do so with diversity in some content areas. Her data indicated the two publications do not serve the same audience. She also found that magazine editors seem to be much more aware of their audience and, therefore, more conscious of content that would appeal to that audience.[49] Sunday supplement editors, on the other hand, make their content decisions based more on the rest of the newspaper than on any concept of an audience.[50]

Cynthia Young's master's thesis is another in-depth analysis of a particular aspect of editorial performance in city magazines. Her goal was to determine whether city magazines were performing as media critics in their localities as much of the popular literature stated and, if true, to determine the level of the criticism.

Young concludes from her data, which represented the period between 1973 and August, 1977, that city magazines were serving as effective critics of local news media and that the magazines were using accepted critical techniques and themes. By so doing, she said, city magazines "are filling the void caused by a lack of city journalism reviews and the apparent reluctance of the news media to cover themselves."[51]

Finally, Mary Kay Connell examined national advertising in three city magazines (Los Angeles, San Diego and San Francisco) in 1977 to provide preliminary research on those particular magazines' roles as national advertising vehicles. She found that the upscale audiences and attractive packages offered by these particular magazines did, indeed, draw favorable attention from some large, exclusive national advertisers. The California markets, she said, definitely had some impact on the national advertisers' decisions, but also considered were factors any magazine could control: "audited circulations, financial stability, well managed circulation growth, good market penetration, effective national sales representation and competitive cost efficiencies."[52]

OTHER LITERATURE

Much of the popular literature on city magazines repeats the same messages -- praise for the "new" media arising out of the ashes of the old massive audience publications, their tremendous growth rate (usually the same handful of books account for most of this circulation growth), the local service orientation that distinguishes them from metropolitan editions of national magazines, their advertising potential, their "sassy" stance on modern urban issues and, perhaps above all else, a saucy, irreverent and journalistically

solid bent toward investigative reporting. (It should be noted that not all city magazines display the last trait.)

For the most part, articles in the popular press (including Columbia Journalism Review) are just as sunny and upbeat on city magazines as the Chamber of Commerce representatives of that genre. There are some exceptions. Frank O'Neill pretty much pans Atlanta, the most respected Chamber of Commerce publication of the 1960s, in his 1971 Columbia Journalism Review article.[53] And Robert Merry's "Service with a Sass" offers some dissenting voices on the city magazines' rosy image as the modern voice of the upscale spender advertisers love to court.[54]

Most popular press articles rely on the standard background material -- such as Bob Abel's 1968 piece on "The City Slickers," John Tebbel's "City Magazines: A Medium Reborn" and Time's "Urban Survival Manuals."[55] As Cynthia Young says:

> Articles about these articles are widely scattered and far too general; some even give conflicting information about such things as a magazine's first or last issue. Indeed, most of the reports offer the same basic premises and information and quotations from experts, and they reach the same indisputable conclusion: The city magazine has great potential.[56]

One extremely promising area for possible research turned up, however, in this search through the popular literature. John Peter and J. J. Hanson both noted in Folio: the arrival of some possible competition for city magazines -- slick, standard-sized, full-color magazines, produced weekly by the Los Angeles Times and the San Francisco Examiner. Roy Nelson also notes in Magazine Design & Production the arrival of Insight, a weekly news magazine produced by the Washington Times. Whether they will succeed or not only the

marketplace will determine, but the potential for academic research can only be expanded.

As extensive as these popular articles are, especially the business-related articles, there is a noticeable lack of in-depth analysis on any number of subjects. For example, analysis of practically any editorial function of these magazines is virtually nonexistent. Do modern city magazines, indeed, utilize the full resources of contemporary journalism for which Maurice English longed in 1954?[57] Or do they rely too much on "best-and-worst-of" lists for which they are famous (or infamous)?

Other areas ripe for research include:

*A study on the relationship between the three major departments in any magazine publishing business -- editorial, advertising and circulation.

*Makeup of the writing staff and the editorial budget; how much is set aside for "big" name writers and how little is designated for staff or freelance articles.

*Explore more fully the implications of the genre's most effective claim to advertising dollars -- the upscale, predominantly white audience.

*Cost of production and quality production -- how is this handled.

*Some publishers of prosperous city magazines claim circulation or at least the potential circulation must be at least 100,000 before a city magazine can expect to be profitable. Yet magazines appear to be prospering in relatively small metropolitan areas. Is it the quantity or the quality of numbers that really count?

*More research on the relationship between city magazines and a locally edited Sunday supplement (such as Mid-South in The Commercial

Appeal). Does a strong city magazine force the Sunday supplement to become a stronger editorial product? Can a Sunday supplement compete for the same advertising dollars?

*Are home and garden type publications or local business publications taking some of the shine off the city magazines' gloss?

*An update on the Chamber of Commerce magazines vs. independently owned city magazines would indicate whether the concept of "booster" journalism still thrives. Similarly, a content analysis of award-winning city magazines (such as Philadelphia, The Washingtonian, Texas Monthly and Memphis Magazine) might provide some indication of how the best city magazines fulfill their obligations to their respective communities.

*It would be informative to track a particular piece of investigative journalism or "social" journalism and see what, if any, results it produced.

* Are city magazines leading in the revitalization of downtown areas or do they tend to cater to their mostly suburban audience?

*Are these magazines, as some claim, closet racists or do they make honest efforts to present the "whole" community to their well-off readers? Are minorities represented on the editorial staff and, if so, to what degree? How much input do minority staff members have on editorial policy?

*Three-pronged management -- editorial, circulation, advertising. Do they overlap? How big a role does the publisher play in each phase of the publishing business?

These are but a few of the research areas that suggest themselves to one surveying the literature of city magazines. Since in-depth, scholarly research has been so scant, there is virtually no limit to the topics one might find. The most limiting factor might

very well be one's imagination.

FOOTNOTES

1. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1850-1865, Vol. II (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938, 1967) 102-103.

2. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905, Vol. IV (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957) 76-109.

3. Ibid., 76.

4. Ibid., 77.

5. Ibid.

6. Ben L. Moon, "City Magazines, Past and Present," Journalism Quarterly 47 (Winter 1970).

7. Mott, Vol. IV, 752.

8. David Shaw, Journalism Today (New York: Harper and Row, 1977) 186.

9. William Howard Taft, American Magazines for the 1980's (New York: Hastings House, 1982) 160.

10. Shaw, Journalism Today, 187.

11. Moon, "City Magazines, Past and Present," 712.

12. Theodore B. Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1964) 320.

13. Shaw, Journalism Today, 187.

14. Taft, American Magazines for the 1980's, 159.

15. Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, 321.

16. Ed Zotti, "Available Locally, Coast to Coast," Advertising Age (March 30, 1981) 1.

17. Lincoln Murray Haynes, "Founding and Early Development of L.A. Magazine, 1958-60," unpublished M.A. thesis (California State University, Northridge, 1975).

18. Shaw, Journalism Today, 187.

19. See, for instance, Shaw, Journalism Today and Taft, American Magazines for the 1980's.

20. Alan D. Fletcher, "City Magazines Find a Niche in the Media Marketplace," Journalism Quarterly 54 (Winter 1977) 740.

21. Alan D. Fletcher and Bruce G. VanderBergh, "Numbers Grow, Problems Remain for City Magazines," Journalism Quarterly 59 (Summer 1982) 313.

22. Taft, American Magazines for the 1980's, 158.

23. Ben L. Moon, "Relationships Between Editorial and Business Executives of City Magazines," unpublished M.A. thesis (University of Florida, 1969) and Allan Duxbury Taber, "An Editorial and Economic Evaluation of Metropolitan Magazines," unpublished M.A. thesis (University of Georgia, 1978). Efforts are still being made to obtain these two theses.

24. Fletcher, "City Magazines Find a Niche in the Media Marketplace," 741-42.

25. Ibid., 742.

26. Ibid., 742-43.

27. Ibid., 749.

28. Fletcher and VanderBergh, "Numbers Grow, Problems Remain for City Magazines," 314.

29. Ibid., 314-15.

30. Gene Burd, "Urban Magazine Journalism Thrives During City Crises," Journalism Quarterly 50 (Spring 1973) 78, 80.

31. Ibid., 82.

32. Ernest C. Hynds, "City Magazines, Newspapers Serve in Different Ways," Journalism Quarterly 56 (Autumn 1979) 620.

33. Ibid., 621.

34. Ibid., 622.

35. John P. Hayes, "City/Regional Magazines: A Survey/Census," Journalism Quarterly 58 (Summer 1981) 294-95.

36. Ibid., 296.

37. Madeline M. Muecke, "Ownership Forms of Regional Magazines," Journalism Quarterly 44 (Autumn 1967) 560-61.

38. Anthony McGann et al., "Variable Pricing in Advertising Space for Regional and Metro Magazines," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Summer 1983).

39. Sam G. Riley, "Specialized Magazines of the South," Journalism Quarterly 59 (Autumn 1982).

40. Mary Anne McAwley, "The Pittsburgher Magazine: A Study on Why One City Magazine Failed," unpublished M.A. thesis (Point Park College, 1983) 83.

41. Ruby Mae Apsler, "Seattle: Failure of a City Magazine," unpublished M.A. thesis (University of Washington, 1977) 122.

42. Ibid., 124.

43. Haynes, "Founding and Early Development of L.A. Magazine," vi.

44. Jeanne Odell Montague, "Reader Attitudes Toward City Magazines," unpublished A.M. thesis (University of Missouri, 1969) 113-14.

45. Ibid., 114.

46. Patricia Brinson Costen, "The Effects of City Magazines on Existing Sunday Newspaper Supplement Magazines in the Same Cities," unpublished M.A. thesis (University of Wisconsin, 1977) 47.

47. Ibid., 49.

48. Patricia A. Kurtz, "A Study of the Relationship Between Metropolitan Magazines and Locally Edited Sunday Newspaper Supplements," unpublished M.A. thesis (California State University, Fullerton, 1982) 37.

49. Ibid., 93.

50. Ibid., 94.

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